

REASONS VVHY

this Kingdome ought to adhere to
the Parliament.



How soon do men forget the by-gon time of their affliction? or if they retain a dark and misty remembrance of the time past, they want the discretion by comparing it with the time present to foresee and prevent evil times to come. And this seems to be now the condition of us the people of *England*, who have almost forgot how our Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties in our Estates lay bleeding almost to death at the feet of a Malignant party of Papists, Prelates, and Court-priests, Innovating Counsellours, corrupt Judges, with their dependents Petty-foggers, Solicitors, Projectors, Monopolizers, and other Prerogative Parasites: How unjust and destructive a war was projected by the said Malignants between us and our brother Nation of *Scotland* wherein wee were sure, if we were conquered, to lose our selves and all wee had to the Conquerour with whom wee fought; and if wee did conquer, to the Malignant party for whom wee fought: How to secure our bondage, the old English Souldiary of Protestants being disbanded in *Ireland*, an Army of eight thousand *Irish* Papists (the Conductors at this day of the bloody Rebellion there) were raised by *Strafford*, and kept hovering over our heads, ready to fall upon us (weakened with an unhappy conquest) and to lay that Iron yoke upon our necks to which we should unworthily have subdued our brethren.

But what our oppressions and grievances were in particular, who were the Authors, what aymes they had, and what meanes they used, how far they proceeded before this Parliament, and since; what the faithfull endeavours of this Parliament are, and what they have done already for us, and at how little a charge, considering the great burdens and slavery they have freed us from, what dangerous oppositions, attempts, and designs (destructive to the being of Parliaments and to their own persons) they have (through the goodnesse of God) overcome, and are still environed withall: How faithfully to our benefit they have disbursed the publick money and upon just, necessary, legall grounds, and with what respect to the King and Kingdome they have managed all our affairs. How (as Christ was led aside into the Wildernesse to be tempted) his Majesty is led aside from his great Councell the Parliament (in whom there is strength) into a Wildernesse of errors and

and weaknesſes : And what the points of difference between his Maieſty and the Parliament are at this time : Hee that is capable of ſatisfaction, and deſires withall to know what ſhare he is likely to have in the publike calamities (if not prevented) and how to carry himſelf therein, let him read the third Remonſtrance, the ſeverall Declarations, the generall accounts of the Kingdom publiſhed by the Parliament, together with thoſe moſt excellent Obſervations ; the one upon his Maieſties Answer to the Lords and Commons of the 19 of May, 1643. The other upon ſome of his Maieſties late Answers and Expreſſes.

Likewiſe the Answer to the *Somerſetſhire* Petition, and a good plaine Paper, called *Some more new Obſervations concerning King and Parliament*, containing twenty conſiderations.

Another Paper intituled *Jefuits plots*: And a Paper called a ſhort Diſcourſe tending to pacification of differences between his Maieſty and his Parliament ; where theſe truths appeare as cleer as the Sun, in deſpight of Envy and her black-mouth'd Daughter, Slander, which always attends good deeds in a bad age, as the ſhadow attends the body.

But that after ſo many prayers and petitions to God for a Parliament, wee ſhould ſo much forget his mercies, our owne ſufferings and complaints, and the Parliaments faithfull, wiſe, and effectuall endeavours, as to harken to the voice of a Malignant party, who flatter us, calumniate them, and abuſe all ; this ſheweth us to be the Sons of *Adam*, apt to be tempted, even with an Apple. But let us examine the cauſes of this our inſtancy and ingratitude, which may be partly inward in our ſelves, and outward in others.

I. Inward in our ſelves, as,

First, long diſcontinuance of Parliaments hath filled this Kingdome ſo full of diſeaſes, that we grow weary of Phyſick before our Phyſicians can perfect the cure, and had rather venture a relapſe then confirme our healths by ſtirrings up more humours.

Secondly, becauſe the Parliament did not ſeaſonably ſatiſfie our anger with puniſhment of Delinquents, wee are now tired with expectation, and as angry with the Parliament as with Delinquents. But if we conſider how, and by whom they are proteſted, where they Sanctuary : and how the multitude of offenders, their friends and abettors is ſuch, that----*Hos defendit numerus, junctoque umbone phalangis* ; They are too many, too ſtrong to be brought to puniſhment, unleſſe the Parliament found more ability in themſelves and more conſtancy in the people then they have yet met withall, the Parliament is to be excuſed.

Secondly, outward cauſes of our unſtancy and ingratitude proceeds from the ſubtilty and induſtry of the malignant party ; who with all diligence in their reports, diſcourſes, writings, and publications, nay, in Churches and Pulpits ſet faire gloſſes upon their own ſoule actions, and with ſoule paintings, ſtaine the faire me-
rits.

rics of the Parliament. Let us examine some of their calumnies for all is impossible.

First, the Malignants observing us to be freed from painfull Symptomes, and willing to take our rest and ease (upon the advantage of our sloath) perswade us to take this for a cure (though the disease lie yet lurking in our Bowels) and to grow angry with, and suspicious of our Physicians, as if they keep us in an unnecessary course of Physick to continue their power and government over us. But their delays proceeded partly from the throng of great and weighty businesses, which like waves continually falling in one upon another) hinder themselves in the crowd; And principally from the flights of the Malignants.

Secondly, the Malignants object, that this Parliament is a burden to the Commonwealth, that they free us from Taxations of Shillings, by impositions of Pounds by Subsidies, Pole-money, Loans, &c.

First, in desperate diseases (such as the Malignants had infested this Commonwealth withall) Bloud-letting is necessary, the veines will fill againe if the vitall parts be preserved; if wee contribute part of our particular wealth to free the Commonwealth from slavery and superstition (the parents of repining sloth and dejected Cowardise) we shall encourage industry, and renew our stock: but if we stoop under an Arbitrary government, who will worke that others may devour the fruits of his labours? Liberty is the fountaine of industry, and industry of wealth.

2 Besides, the Parliament hath already paid us liberally for all the Taxes they have made us pay; and our payments are but for the present; their benefits and good Laws are perpetuall. The abolishing of Superstition and Reforming our Religion. The vindicating our Laws Liberties and Properties are inestimable. Ship-money did yeerly cost the Kingdome above 200000 pound, Coat and Conduct money, and other military charges (besides the trouble and terrour) almost as much. A few Monopolies did yeerly prejudice the Subject a Million. Some 100000 pound; Wine 300000 pound, Leather almost 400000 pound, Salt 400000 pound; all these, with many other Monopolies this Parliament hath taken away. Besides what infinite damage those discouragements of trade brought invisibly upon the Commonwealth, as well *Lucro cessante*, as *Damno emergente*. And (which is the benefit of all benefits, the Quintessence, the Elixer, the spirit extracted out of all their endeavours) the root of all these wrongs is declared to be against Law by Act of Parliament, being an Arbitrary power, which (for their own benefit more then his Majesties) the prerogative Parasites pretended to be in the King) of taxing the Subjects and charging their estates at pleasure, without limitation, and without consent of Parliament.

3. This Parliament had not beene so chargeable to the Kingdome, had not the Malignant partie continually multiplyed their troubles, charges and dangers, and retarded the remedies.

Thirdly, this Parliament is more hated then any former Parliament hath been: First, because it hath found more Delinquents, and hath gone farther in searching and curing wounds and diseases, and establishing a perfect reformation both in Church and State, then ever any did. Long intermission of Parliaments having filled this Common-wealth so universally with ill humours, that (in this old doing age, wherein it drawes to its period) we can neither indure its diseases, nor the remedies. And herein this Parliament is most unhappy. Secondly, because it cannot be broken without their owne consent: Ever since which act past, all waies have been taken by the Court faction, to dissolve or destroy it; before those quarrels about *Hull* or the *Militia* were thought of.

All which plots sayling, they now attempt (what no age will ever beleeeve, unlesse it be as wicked as this) to render odious and suspected to the people this onely Sanctuary of their Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and properties. The representative body of the whole Kingdome.

Fourthly, they labour to make this and all other Parliaments invalid and of no authority, or reputation with the people, by infusing such opinions and doctrines into them as are inconsistent with the nature of Parliaments, and will strike dead the very roote of them, if they be generally beleeeved. First, that if the King desert the Parliament, it is a voyd assembly, and without power to defend the kingdome, even from open violence. A Right, not denied to a private person assaulted. Secondly, that Parliament priviledges are no where to be read, and so the Representation of this whole kingdome gives them no priviledge nor authoritie. Thirdly, that the maior part in Parliament is not considerable, when many are absent or dissent. But to stay untill all, or almost all are present and assenting, and not to *acquiesce*, in the Majoritie, is never to bring any thing to conclusion, nay to bring all to tumults & confusion. Fourthly, that the maior part is no maior part because the fraud of some few misleads them. This Position divides the Parliament into two unworthy sorts of men, Deceivers, & Deceived. Fifthly, that Parliaments may do dishonourable, nay treasonable Acts. And that this Parliament hath bin so blinded by some few Malignants, as to abet treason in Sir *John Horham*. (Answer to the 19 Propositions p. 2. See the Answer to the Declaration May 26. p. 1. 2. 11. & 28. 29.) Here you see Treason charged upon the representative body of the kingdome, and consequently, by reflection, upon the whole body of the kingdome represented. If therefore his Majestie take Armes, it must be against us all (Parliament and People) involved in one common crime of Treason. And yet the maxime of the law is, that no dishonourable thing is to be presumed of Parliaments. And (I beleeeve) neither reason, nor example can shew any thing against this rule. Sixtly, that the Parliament hath trampled upon all Law, and the Kings Prerogative, and sought to inflave the whole Kingdome. During the long absence of Parliaments, the Prerogative had swallowed the Law, which this Parliament caused to be vomited up againe.

gaine, and restored to the people, when the Malignant⁵ partie thought it had beene digested & converted into the very nature of the Prerogative. And this is one dangerous effect of the long want of Parliaments, that whatsoever the Prerogative devoures, though it digest and incorporate not with it, but breake forth into Wens and other unwholsome excretions; yet (because they are of some continuance) both Prince and People, but especially evill Counsellours (who onely thrive by the abuse of exorbitant power) take it for a part and member of the Prerogative, and make it a matter of scandall and quarrell, that after so long a sufferance, the Parliament should launce or pare away those tumours. But that the Parliament (so small a body armed onely with a derivative power of representation, having an Active Anti-parliamentary faction of Monarchists in the heart of it, and which hath been put to labour for its preservation ever since the Bill passed for perpetuating of it) should trample upon the Law, and inflave the whole kingdome, seemes wonderfull; it being the onely fountaine and foundation of our Lawes, the Sanctuary whither the people flie for succour, when they are oppressed in their Lawes, Liberties, and Properties; and which so lately hath redeemed the People and all they can call theirs, out of bondage, and the members thereof being sure to suffer amongst the multitude, whensoever our Lawes faile us. Seventhly, that the Parliament sought the betraying of Church and State; and to effect the same, had created a new upstart authoritie in the *Militia*, and levied warre upon the King. They may properly be said to betray Church and State, who corrupt the doctrine and discipline in the one, and subvert the Lawes and forme of government in the other. And if any man be so great a stranger in our *Israel* as not to know who they are, I will tell him, First, the Prelates, and Court Priests brought many alterations into our Liturgy and Rubrick (contrary to the Act of Parliament, whereby the Common Prayer booke is established) vaine Ceremonies, Altars, and many new doctrines into our Church (to make us more consonant to the Church of *Rome*) as Episcopacy and Tithes, *Jure Divino*. That the King hath a Divine Prerogative paramount to all our Lawes. That the Church of *Rome* is a true Church and erres not in fundamentalls (and then we are Schismatics at least) That Auricular confession is of necessitie, &c. These are a few of their corruptions in Doctrine: Discipline followes: They enlarged their jurisdiction against Law. The High Commission used the Temperall Sword by fining, imprisoning, as well as the spirituall. They used an independent jurisdiction, not derived from the King (which they claimed *Jure Divino*) in their owne name, and under their owne seales, contrary to the Stat. *H.8. C.17.1. Ed.6. C.2.* still in force: In the State, The attempts of the Malignant partie to subvert our Lawes, Liberties, and Properties, and to reduce this well tempered Monarchy into a meere Arbitrary Government have been sufficiently proved in the tryall and attainer of the Earle of *Strafford*; yet I will not omit the testimony of the Lord of *Faulkland*, who wittily tells us:

The King was perswaded by his Divines, that in conscience, his Counsellors, that in Policy, and his Judges, that by Law he might doe what he list : And if this bee not a conspiracy to introduce Arbitrary Government, and change our state, I know not what is.

For the *Militia*, they desire not to remove it from the King, but from his subordinate Ministers, and place it upon other Ministers whom they suspect not ; and to satisfie the feares of a whole Nation in time of danger, is wisdom. Besides, extraordinary diseases, require extraordinary cures ; the High distempers and dangers of the Kingdome compells the Parliament (That supream Court and Counsell now deserted by the King) to have recourse to the supream Law *Salus populi* ; Whose immediate rise is from the Law of Nature, which teacheth every worne, much more a man, and most of all a whole Nation to provide for its defence.

Besides, it neither belongs to the person, nor calling of the King to expound the Lawes ; But that the Parliament hath a power to declare Law without the Kings consent, nay, against it, (though not to make it without him) is apparent ; for all inferiour Courts have the same. And what Counsellors and Interpreters of the Law his Majesty hath now about him, to be put, in ballance with the faith and learning of a whole Parliament ? What Expositions of Lawes and Stat. they have made, Let his late publications and Commission of Array, against the petition of Right, and their opinions and judgements given since that was enacted upon Ship-mony, *Hebeas corpora* &c. testifie. 8ly, That *Parliaments* cannot declare Law, but in particular Cases, legally brought before them. It should seeme by this, that *Parliaments* have no Conuance of Causes, but upon complaints *ab extra* : But the House of Commons, being the great Enquest of the Kingdome, may, and ought to take Conuance of Causes, of publique concernment, *Ex officio* : and is accounted misconuassant of nothing. 9ly, That *Parliaments* are questionable and triable else-where. The *Parliament* is the supream Court, and hath the last appeale ; Anciently errors in other Courts were tryed there : Therefore no other Court can have Conuance of their Actions nor persons ; which were to appeale ridiculously, upwards and downwards. And if a *Parliament* be triable and arraignable before the King himselfe : Then hath the King an unlimited declarative power of Law above all Courts, in his own breast ; and the last Appeale must be to his discretion and understanding, and consequently, the Legislative power His alone. And yet his Majesty is pleased to confesse himselfe not skilfull in the Lawes. I know no third tryall to which a *Parliament* can be liable, unlesse it be the tryall by the Sword : from which, and from those that counsell it, the God of battels defend us ; and grant us courage to defend our selves. (These last recited Doctrines and positions have received Answers of another nature at large, In the Observations upon his Majesties last *Answers* and *Expreses*.)

3. But the *Bug-beare* which workes most upon the people, is, Lest these differences
twene

7

betweene his Majesty and *Parliament* should entangle us in a civill War. It seemes they have little belife in his Maiesties Protestations and imprecations to governe peaceably and legally, who feare this : and they lesse faith, who threaten them with it. But take heed you doe not draw on a War, by fearing it : Courage is the best Antidote against it.

Wherefore I shall admonish you, that no War can be more destructive to you, and all that is yours, then your owne Cowardise, if it should so far fright you from your constancy, faith, and gratiude, as to make you desert this *Parliament* : for First, you cannot forsake this Parliament, and leave it to the mercy of the Malignants, but you shall forsake your selves, and your Religion, Lawes, Liberties and properties open to the spoyle and oppression of an Arbitrary Government (more remediless and not lesse wasting then a warre.) And either have no more Parliaments (for, when they may take what they list you shall never be called to give) or (if by vertue of your trianniall Act) there should bee another Parliament summoned. what faith and courage can you expect from such Members as must either cff:rup your Lawes, Liberties and properties that sent them, or (being destitute of your Protection) become themselves a Sacrifice ? Such a slavish Parliament will lay the sure foundation of all our slaveries : For as our Lawes protect us and all that is ours, and Parliaments protect our Lawes, so we must protect them and their priviledges from violence. Next consider how forraigne kingdomes are governed, where (for want of Parliaments) the will of the Prince and his Favorites is the Law of the People. And how this kingdome was governed during the long intermission (when honest men were out of hope, and knaves out of feare) of Parliaments ?

Secondly, He that thinkes a Parliament can be forsaken, knowes not the power of Parliaments; for if the Parliament please to imitate your unconstancy and faithlesse cowardise, and, deserting your interest, pursue only their own, and comply with the King, They are able to doe him more service in one week, then *Ioseph* did to *Pharaoh* in twice seven yeares. They can make him more absolute then any Prince in Christendome, nay then the Turk or Muscovite. They can repeale all the good Lawes they have got for you : They can revive the Star-Chamber, High-Commission, &c. and set the Pillory upon your necks, and little *Land* upon your ears again : They can bring in and naturalize the Exercises of the Low-Countries, the Gabels of France, the Alcavales of Spaine, and all the Taxes of Florence & make England the Map of all the oppressions in the world, they can give away your Lawes, Liberties, and Properties by a Statute, and establish a perpetuall Tyranny by a Law, which shall stop your mouths for ever, when you shall be, told that the Act of the Representative body is the Act of the whole Kingdom, & you are bound by the Lawes of the Land; Complaints against illegall Taxes shall then no more bee heard in your Streetes for want of Lawes. Neither think this
plot

plot so shallow, that the members of this Parliament, or their posterity shall draw in the same yoke with you: No, they may entaile their severall Votes and Seats in this already perpetuated Parliament to themselves and their heires Maies for ever: And (as the Fable saith that the Lion proclaiming a generall day of hunting all beasts of prey waited upon him for their shares) so these may have a subordinate share, according to their severall capacities, in your spoiles and booties. The L. Treasurer *Burleigh* was wont to say, *He knew not what a Parliament could not do*; And truly I know not what a Parliament (concurring with his Majesty) cannot be. They may be the only favourites and Privadoes, and strike all others into the Boxe, and lie in their roomes. Bishops shall not straine their Consciences nor braines to invent a Theologicall engine, called a Divine Prerogative for battering your Laws, Liberties, and Properties; the Votes of the Parliament shall shake them in sunder: They shall be the Kings Cavaliers, and subdue you and all yours (feare not a Civill War) without blow stricken, and with a most permanent victory. And this whole Kingdome shall consist only of a King, a Parliament, and Slaves. What King will reject such servants, or neglect such a *Compendium* of power and profit upon any conditions? Mistake me not: I doe not say or thinke they will doe this, they have shewed themselves more pious, just, faithfull, then to deserve such a suspicion. But take heed you doe not cancell the obligation your election hath laid upon them, by an undeserved, ignoble mistrust: Many a man hath provoked his wife to lewdnesse, by thinking her lewde; Teach them not by your example to be, what you would not have them to be: If either indignation or feare should prepare their mindes to make a politique use of your faithlesse cowardise; what might not they get, and you lose? Who will not rather forsake then be forsaken, and sacrifice himselfe for the safety of a company of ungratefull, unfaithfull cowards? Honour is the reward of vertuous actions, and protection is due to them who protect your Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and Properties. Give it them for their sakes and your owne, or blame them not if they follow the dictates of nature, and provide for their owne safety, by deserting you who would deliver up them. Be true to your selves, that they may be true to you; for who will stick to him that abandons himselfe? Let not feare betray those helps which reason offers you. And God send us all mindes prepared for peace, hearts fit for War, and no cause to use our hands in such a service: yet if so sad an occasion doe come, let us meet it with the manly alacrity of Christians: Knowing that all things worke together for the best, to them that love God. I conclude with *Seneca*, *Leve est quod ferre possum*; *Breue est quod ferre non possum*.

E I N I S.

AXIO

24

64555